6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal-NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 562 • 885 Participation in drinking cycles[54] is restricted to adult males, and in fact participation signals that such persons are indeed adult males. These are some of the things that participation in drinking cycles "means."

273* Types of drinking cycles

Particular instances of the drinking cycle differ in the degree of "formality" of their organization.

Ceremonial drinking

The full expression of a ceremonial drinking cycle has a number of performance correlates which permit its identification. While it is generally true that ceremonial drinking, in contrast to "informal" drinking, is specifically initiated as a part of one of the rituals just mentioned, its most crucial, i.e., unambiguous characteristic is a formal speech which a senior male of the sponsoring group makes to the receiving group. This speech is responded to with equal formality by a senior male of the receiving group. There are several examples in text of this particular interchange between the sponsor and the receiver. An example of one of these, as reported by Lorenzo Mendez, is given below.

273* 539 *E TYOS KUMPRE, *AK'A LAH PERTON, BA* LA HZO*BEX TALEL, BA* LA HYOMEX TALEL HZ'INUK, H*A K'UK, TA STI*IL HME*BAL HWOKOL. BWENO, SOYOK KALTIK HNIC'ANTIK.

Ay, dios, compadre, excuse me. I have brought you here, gathered you here for a moment, for a little while, at the door of my poor house, with my children and grandchildren.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 571 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is, as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring performances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role performed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called.

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
• 885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
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562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 825 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1] One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2] If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1] When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

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621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

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606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[594] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because
[313] she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound. Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, exchanging news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

Women look upon having their own homestead as the only solution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

We can see, then, that there are several factors which provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two